

with R. D'Arcy Power's contribution

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THE ELIZABETHAN REVIVAL OF SURGERY.

By D'ARCY POWER, F.R.C.S.Eng., F.S.A.

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THE ELIZABETHAN REVIVAL OF SURGERY.

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SHORT account of the progress of surgery in London is the easiest way to understand the great revival which took place in this branch of medicine during the reign of Elizabeth, a revival which converted surgery from a business into a profession, and was yet so temporary that it left but two surgeons to carry on its traditions through the seventeenth century.

Two surgical guilds had existed in London from the earliest times recorded in the annals of the City: a civil body—the Guild of Barbers; and a fellowship recruited from the military surgeons—the Fraternity of Surgeons. The Barbers' Guild contained two groups of members: the Barbers proper, who also let blood and drew teeth; and the Barbers exercising the faculty of surgery. The Barbers, being stay-at-home people who attended the City magnates when they were ill, soon became a numerous body, of sufficient importance to be incorporated as the Barbers' Company in the year 1462, whilst the Fellowship of Surgeons remained few in number; and though they had great interest with the king and the nobles, they only used it intermittingly, for many of the members were often away from London.

Foremost amongst this small body of men was Thomas Morstede, surgeon to Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI, who served as the king's surgeon at Agincourt in 1415. Morstede had a long and prosperous career, and was buried in the church of St. Olave Upwell in the Jewry; in 1450, leaving to "Roger Brynard, my apprentice, ten marks sterling (£6 13s. 4d.), meum librum Anglicanum ligatum cum duabus latitudinibus, omnia instrumenta mea Chirurgic, cum omnibus suis pertinentibus, meum cornu argento ornatum et meum magnum pyxidem argenti. (My liber Anglicus fastened with two straps, all my surgical instruments and appliances, my drinking-horn mounted in silver, and my large silver plaster case.)"

If we except John of Arderne—and after all he was only a tradesman—we owe to Morstede the first serious attempt to make surgery a profession in London, for he took a leading part in the formation of a conjoint faculty of medicine and surgery, which was nearly five

hundred years in advance of its time. The scheme of the faculty is preserved in a petition to the Mayor and Aldermen, dated 15th May, 1423. The petition prays that all physicians and surgeons practising in London may be considered as a single body of men governed by a Rector of Medicine with the help of two Surveyors of the Faculty of Physic, and two Masters of the Craft of Surgery. There was to be a common place of meeting, consisting of three separate houses at the least: one fitted with desks for examinations and disputations in philosophy and medicine, as well as for the delivery of lectures; the second house for the use of the physicians; and the third for the convenience of the surgeons. The Rector of Medicine, when he was in London, was to act as president and ruler at the meetings in either house; but if he were absent each faculty was to act as a separate body, the physicians by themselves, and the surgeons by themselves.

The rector, the two Surveyors of Physic, and the two Masters of Surgery were to be re-elected yearly, and were then to be presented to the Mayor and Aldermen to be sworn to the due performance of their duties. The Rector of Medicine was to be a Doctor of Physic and a Master of Arts and Philosophy, or at the least a Bachelor of Physic of long standing. But if no such person could be found the faculty of medicine was to be governed by the two surveyors only, and in like manner the surgeons by their two masters. No one was to be chosen rector, a Surveyor of Physic, or a Master of Surgery unless he had been born within the realm of England, and an effort was to be made to choose for each office the wisest, ablest, and most discreet persons of mature age.

No surgeon was to be allowed to practise in London unless he had been examined by the rector, the two Masters of Surgery, and the majority of the craft, after which he was to be licensed by the Mayor and Aldermen, under penalty of 100 shillings fine.

Every surgeon called upon to treat a case which seemed likely to end in death or permanent disablement was obliged to call into consultation the Rector of Medicine or one of the Masters of Surgery within three days of his first attendance, and a like course was to be taken by every surgeon before he performed any serious operation. This regulation was made in the interests of the surgeon as well as of the patient, for it is expressly laid down that the rector, surveyors, and masters shall be always ready to attend the consultations without any fee, under pain of twenty shillings. But the Rector of Medicine is to give no opinion in a surgical case without the consent of the Masters of Surgery.

A surgeon duly convicted on credible evidence of malpraxis or of infamous professional behaviour was to be brought before the Mayor, who should punish him with fine, imprisonment, or "puttynge him out from alle practice in chirurgery for a tyme or for evermore after the quantite and qualite of his trespass."

A patient needing a surgeon, who had fallen into such poverty that he was unable to pay a fee, was to appeal to the rector and the Masters of Surgery, who would assign him a good practitioner, "busily to take heed of him without expence."

The rector, the two Surveyors of Physic, and the two Masters of Surgery, associating with themselves two apothecaries, were to search the shops of suspected apothecaries for adulterated drugs.

If the drugs were found impure or rotten they were thrown into the street to be trampled underfoot, and the apothecary was haled before the Mayor. This curious right of search was afterwards given to the Royal College of Physicians of London, and was an established custom rigorously carried out as late as 1830, when the four censors of the Royal College of Physicians visited not only the apothecaries' shops, but the warehouses of the wholesale druggists and the vendors of patent medicines.

The petition of the physicians and surgeons was duly granted on 28th May, 1423. Master Gilbert Kymer was sworn before the Mayor and Aldermen as rector of the Faculty of Medicine, with Thomas Morstede and John Harwe, the king's surgeons, as the Masters of Surgery. But it was not until 27th September, 1423, that Master John Sumbreshede and Master Thomas Southwell were presented and sworn as supervisors of physic, Dr. Gilbert Kymer being again appointed Rector of Medicine on that day.

Dr. Gilbert Kymer was educated at Oxford in Durham College, whose site is now occupied by Trinity College. He was a Master of Arts, a Bachelor of Law, and a Doctor of Physic before 1420. He acted as a Proctor of the University in 1412-13, being at that time Principal of Hart Hall. He was presented to the living of Lutterworth in Leicestershire whilst he was still a layman. He was Dean of Wimborne Minster and Treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral in 1427, yet he was not ordained a sub-deacon until 28th February, 1428, and in 1434 he was presented to St. Martin's, Vintry. He was Chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1431 to 1433, and again from 1446 to 1453, and in that capacity he was constantly begging for money and materials to complete the building known to us as the Divinity School. Some of his begging letters are very amusing as instances of the shifts to which the University was put to obtain money; thus there is one addressed to the Master of St. Thomas's Hospital in London, in which the University, by the hand of Dr. Kymer, "confidently begs that you will intercede for us with the wealthy citizens of London that they may assist us in building the new schools, and that you will advise our Chancellor how to cast his net on the right side of the ship when he applies to them for assistance."

For a long time Dr. Kymer held the office of physician to the household of Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Henry VI, and from 1439 to 1446 Duke Humphry, presumably at the instigation of his physician, made gifts of books to the University. These gifts were afterwards increased by similar gifts from the same library, obtained by the good offices of Master John Sumbreshede, or Somersset, who was also the Duke's physician, and one of the Surveyors of Medicine. These books, with a few which had belonged to Bishop Thomas Cobham of Worcester, formed the nucleus of the first University library which was of sufficient importance to require a local habitation. The library increased so rapidly that a keeper was appointed in 1513, but it was sold and destroyed by the King's Commissioners in 1550. For thirteen years the library lay desolate, until it was at length refounded by Thomas Bodley. It may, therefore, be said fairly enough that to Dr. Kymer belongs the honour of founding the first public library in Oxford, and the profession of surgery in London. He became Dean of

Salisbury in 1449, but continued to practise medicine, for he was summoned to Windsor in June, 1455, to attend Henry VI during the fit of imbecility which attacked him soon after the first battle of St. Albans. This is the last event in the life of Dr. Kymer which has been traced. He died in 1463.

So long as the coalition of the physicians and surgeons of London lasted, it was formidable to the Guild of Barbers, for the College chose to exercise its penal powers on the Barbers who practised surgery, alleging that they were ignorant and unauthorised practitioners. The Barbers became alarmed, and realising their danger obtained in 1425 a confirmation of the power to practise surgery which had been granted them in 1415 during the mayoralty of Thomas Fauconer, "notwithstanding the false accusation of the Rector and Overseers of the Physicians and the Masters of Surgery."

We have no means of knowing how long the conjoint faculty of medicine and surgery lasted in London. The City records contain no notice of the swearing-in of a Rector of Medicine after September 27th, 1424, nor is there any other indication of the continued existence of a conjoint college after 1425. Dr. Kymer was transferred to the west of England in 1428, and Morstede probably took part in the more active military operations in France when the Earl of Salisbury invested Orleans. The guiding hands of Kymer and Morstede being thus removed, the physicians and surgeons may have ceased to work harmoniously, and the partnership was dissolved, not to be again renewed until 1883, when the Royal College of Physicians of London agreed to act with the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and it became compulsory for every student to be examined in each of the main branches of his profession before he was allowed to practise either medicine, surgery, or midwifery.

The two bodies of physicians and surgeons seem to have gone each their own way after the separation. Little is known about the physicians from 1427 until they were incorporated in 1518 by letters patent of Henry VIII as the President and College of Physicians of London, at the solicitation of Thomas Linacre, and on the recommendation of Cardinal Wolsey. The surgeons steadily pursued their plan of consolidating the craft, and in 1435 they appear as an established body with a code of laws for the government of their society. They consisted at this time of seventeen persons, of whom Thomas Morstede is mentioned last, whilst Thomas Bradwardine, his old companion in arms at Agincourt, is first on the list. The ordinances still exist at the Barbers' Hall as a little quarto book written on vellum. They enact that every member was to help his fellow so far as in him lay, and it was most strictly ordained that none should filch another's patient. The members of the guild had authority to take apprentices, who were to be made free of the fellowship after serving their indentures for six years; or if any apprentice proved unsatisfactory he was allowed a second term of six years, when "if he be not found in these twelve years well adapted in the manner aforesaid, he is never to be chosen a master surgeon."

The guild received a charter of incorporation in 1462, and in 1492 it obtained a grant of arms. At this time, too, it was living peaceably with the Barbers' Company, for in 1493 the two bodies entered into a Composition which is dated May 12th, and is signed by repre-

representatives of each society. The Composition recognised the independence of the two fellowships of "surgeons enfranchised within the City of London," and of "barber-surgeons and surgeons barbers enfranchised in the said City." It was agreed that neither body should admit any one, except a regular apprentice, to practise surgery without the consent and knowledge of the other; and to ensure this being carried into effect every stranger seeking a licence to practise in London was to be presented to the Mayor by the four Wardens of the two guilds. Dangerous and doubtful cases were to be brought under the notice of the four Wardens, instead of, as heretofore, coming only under the observation of the two Wardens. The friendly feeling still remained in 1513, when the Surgeons' Guild applied to Parliament to be "discharged of constableness, watch, and all manner of office bearing any armour, and also of all inquests and juries within the City of London;" and the guild prays that this exemption may extend to all barber-surgeons admitted and approved to exercise the mystery of surgery. We hear no more of the Guild of Surgeons until 1540, when they were formally united with their old competitors and more numerous rivals, the Incorporated Barbers, to form the United Company of Barbers and Surgeons, an alliance which continued until 1745, when the two bodies were separated, the Surgeons to form the Surgeons' Company, from which is descended the present Royal College of Surgeons of England, whilst the Barbers still exist as the Barbers' Company in Monkwell Street.

The Barbers had much ado to vindicate their privileges in the early part of the sixteenth century, for the country swarmed with quacks and unlicensed practitioners, who owed allegiance neither to Surgeons' Guild nor Barbers' Company. The prestige of the Company, too, received a severe blow in 1511, when an Act of Parliament transferred the approbation and licensing of surgeons in London to the Bishop of London and the Dean of St. Paul's, and to the bishops and their vicars-general in various parts of the country. But the Act speedily became unpopular, and was amended by another still more retrograde, for it made it lawful "to any person being the King's subject, having knowledge and experience of herbs—by speculation or practice—to minister in and to any outward sore or wound according to their cunning." This Act remained in force until 1540, when the United Company of Barbers and Surgeons was called into existence, and there can be but little doubt that its effect was to flood the country with quacks. By so doing it acted most injuriously on the practice of surgery, for it led the Barbers' Company to lower the standard of knowledge demanded of candidates for its licence, and in some cases quacks themselves were allowed to buy the licence of the Company on very easy terms as regards their professional knowledge.

From very early times, too, in England the surgeons had felt it a grievance that they were not allowed to take complete charge of their patients. They were looked upon merely as craftsmen, able indeed to wield the knife and saw, but wholly incapable of ordering medicine or regulating the diet of those upon whom they had operated. A physician had to be called on every occasion if more than a trifling change was required in the regimen or medicine, and the surgeon was thus kept in a wholly subordinate position. The

better class of surgeons felt this to be an intolerable hardship, and next to the due regulation of unlicensed practitioners they devoted themselves most actively to promote the unity of medicine and surgery. But the power of the physicians was too great, and instead of being able to free themselves the surgeons were soon in a worse plight than before. In June, 1632, the College of Physicians procured an Order in Council with a clause to the effect that "no ehirurgeon doe either dismember, trephan the head, open the chest or belly, eut for the stone, or do any great operation with his hand upon the body of any person, but in the presenee of a learned physieian, one or more of the College, or of His Majesty's physicians."

The Order was rescinded in 1635, but it was not until after the year 1800 that a hospital surgeon was allowed complete control of his cases.

Surgery was thus a mere trade in London, but throughout the reign of Elizabeth a determined attempt was made to elevate it into a profession by a band of men to whom we must ever be grateful, and to whose work I wish to direct your attention more particularly this evening. Some of the members of this band lived in London, others in the provinces. The Elizabethan revival of surgery, therefore, is truly English, and not a revival in London like that inaugurated by Kymer and Morstede a hundred years before.

The best known members of the Elizabethan band of surgeons were Thomas Gale, William Clowes, John Halle, John Read, and John Banester. Gale and Clowes were well known to their contemporaries, for they held high office in the United Company of Barbers and Surgeons. Halle practised in Kent, and Read lived at Gloucester, whilst Banester was first at Nottingham and afterwards in London. All, with the exeption of Read, who married John Banester's daughter Cicely, had seen service either in the army or navy. They were thus bound together by the ties of good fellowship, and their service abroad had opened their eyes to the degraded state of surgery in England. It is difficult to trace the beginning of the revival, but it appears to have begun with Richard Ferris, Serjeant-Surgeon to Queen Elizabeth, who wrote nothing, but exercised a powerful influence for good over his fellow-surgeons. The methods of reform adopted at first were rough, and the reformers rarely measured the terms of their abuse; but their methods were suited to the times, and it must be remembered that they had often to deal with the very lowest of the population.

Thomas Gale was the senior in point of years. He was born in 1507, and died in 1587. He was apprenticed to John Field and to Richard Ferris, Serjeant-Surgeon to Queen Elizabeth, from whom he seems to have learnt his zeal for the profession. Gale practised as a young man in London, then he served at Montreuil, in 1544, in the army of Henry VIII. He was at the battle of St. Quentin with Philip II of Spain in 1557, when Ambroise Paré in the French army was dressing the wounds made by the English. Guise took Calais in the following year, and the war being ended, Gale returned to London, and was Master of the United Company of Barbers and Surgeons in 1561. The only record of his mastership is that there was a great shooting match of the Company for a supper at the Hall, and Master Gale and his side won the supper, and they had six drums playing and a flute, as Master Machyn tells us in his

diary. Gale seems to have been a straightforward surgeon, who tried to advance his art in a threefold manner: (1) by eliminating quacks; (2) by enforcing a higher standard of education; (3) by protecting surgery against the encroachments of the physicians.

Gale's first picture of the degraded state of surgery due to the abundance of quacks is drawn at Montreuil. He says, "I remember when I was in the wars at Muttrell in the time of the most famous prince King Henry the VIII, there was a great rabblement there that took upon them to be chirurgions; some were sow-gelders, some were horse-gelders, with tinkers and cobblers. This noble sect did such great cures that they got themselves a perpetual name, for like as Thessalus' sect were called Thessalians, so was this noble rabble for their notorious cures called dog-leeches, for in two dressings they did commonly make their cures whole and sound for ever, so that they neither felt heat nor cold, nor yet no manner of pain after: but when the Duke of Norfolk, who was then General, understood how the people did die, and that of small wounds, he sent for me and certain other chirurgions, commanding us to make search how these men came to their death, whether it was by the grievousness of their wounds or by lack of knowledge of the chirurgions; and we, according to our commandment, made search throughout all the camp, and found many of the same good fellows which took upon them the names of chirurgions, not only the names, but wages also. We, asking of them whether they were chirurgions or no, they said they were. We demanded with whom they were brought up; and they, with shameless faces, would answer either with one cunning man or another which was dead. Then we demanded of them what chirurgery stuff they had to cure men withal; and they would show us a pot or a box which they had in a budget, wherein was such trumpery as they did use to grease horses' heels withal, and laid upon scabbed horses' backs, with nervall and such like. And others that were cobblers and tinkers, they used shoemaker's wax with the rust of old pans, and made therewithal a noble salve, as they did term it. But in the end this noble rabble was committed to the Marshalsea, and threatened by the Duke's grace to be hanged for their worthy deeds, except they would declare the truth what they were and of what occupations, and in the end they did confess as I have declared to you before. Whereupon the Duke's grace gave commandment that they should avoid the camp in pain of death, and if at any time they came within the camp afterward they should immediately be hanged as murderers, his Grace calling them by the name of dog-leeches, commanding his captains that they should entertain no more such."

Matters, however, were but little better more than twenty years later, for he says, "In the year 1562 I did see in the two hospitals of London called St. Thomas's Hospital and St. Bartholomew's Hospital to the number of 300 and odd poor people that were diseased of sore legs, sore arms, feet, and hands, with other parts of the body so sore infected that a hundred and twenty of them could never be recovered without loss of a leg or an arm, a foot or a hand, fingers or toes, or else their limbs crooked, so that they were either maimed or else undone for ever. All these were brought to this mischief by witches, by women, by counterfeit javils, that took upon

them to use the art, not only robbing them of their money, but of their limbs and perpetual health. And I, with certain others, diligently examining these poor people, how they came by these grievous hurts, and who were their chirurgions that looked unto them, and they confessed that they were either witches, which did promise by charms to make them whole, or else some women which would make them whole with herbs and such like things, or else some vagabond javil, which runneth from one country to another, promising unto them health, only to deceive them of their money. This fault and crime of the undoing of this people were laid unto the chirurgions—I will not say by part of those that were at that time masters of the same hospitals,—but it was said that carpenters, women, weavers, cobblers, and tinkers did cure more people than the chirurgions. But what manner of cures they did I have told you before—such cures as all the world may wonder at; yea, I say such cures as maketh the devil in hell to dance for joy to see the poor members of Jesus Christ so miserably tormented.

“What shall I say hereunto, but lament and pray unto our Lord Jesus Christ for His precious blood-sake that He shed upon the cross to illuminate the hearts of the magistrates for amendment hereof. And that this rabblement of runagates, with witches, bawds, and the devil’s soothsayers, with tinkers, cobblers, and sow-gelders, and all other their wicked coherents, of these same devilish and wicked sects, which doth thus abuse this noble art of medicine to the utter defacing of the same, may be reformed and amended, and every one to get their living with truth in the same arts that they have been brought up and well exercised in, either else to be grievously punished as they be in all other countries, and as they have been here in this country in times past.”

It is clear that Gale had a high reverence for his work, for at a time when he confesses that “few who have well brought up their son will put him to the art of surgery, because it is accounted so beggarly and vile,” he says that “the chirurgion must also in these his operations observe six things principally. First, that he doth it safely, and that without hurt and damage to the patient. Secondly, that he do not detract time or let slip good occasions offered in working, but with such speed as art will suffer, let him finish his cure. Thirdly, that he work gently, courteously, and with so little pain to the patient as conveniently you may, and not roughly, butcherly, rudely, and without a comliness. Fourthly, that he be as free from craft and deceit in all his workings as the east is from the west. Fifthly, that he take no cure in the hand for lucre or gain’s sake only, but rather for an honest and competent reward, with a godly affection to do his diligence. Last of all that he maketh no warranty of such sicknesses as are incurable, as to cure a cancer not ulcered, or elephantiasis confirmed, but circumspectly to consider what the effect is and promise no more than art can perform; and you shall do these things much the better (yea, without these you cannot anything profit your patient) if you understand the manner and exact ways of making tents, splines, stuphes, bolsters, and convenient rollings.”

Addressing the young surgeons of his own day he says, “I pray you remember that ye be very studious in this art, and diligent and neat in the practising thereof; and also to be modest, wise, and of

good manners and behaviour, and that you lack none of these good properties that we have spoken of before, lest when you shall be called for in the time of necessity, to serve princes and other noble persons, ye do not only dishonour yourselves and your country, but this worthy art also. Remember, I pray you, what great charge is committed unto you in the time of wars. Ye have not only the charge of men's limbs, but also of their lives, which if they should perish through your default, either in neglecting of anything that were necessary for their health, which you ought to be furnished withal, either else through lack of knowledge which ye ought to have in your art—I say, if these defaults be in you and the people perish in your hands you cannot excuse yourselves of your brother's death."

Speaking of the decay of surgery, he says, "The princes with their people are not only evil served—and sometimes not served at all,—but the noble art of chirurgery is utterly overthrown and brought to ruin, and the true professors thereof at this day be so few in number that it is to be wondered at. I have myself in the time of King Henry VIII helped to furnish out of London in one year, which served by sea and land, threescore and twelve chirurgions which were good workmen and well able to serve, and all Englishmen. At this present day there are not four-and-thirty of all the whole company of Englishmen, and yet the most part of them be in noble-men's service, so that if we should have need I do not know where to find twelve sufficient men. What do I say! sufficient men? Nay, I would there were ten amongst all the Company worthy to be called chirurgions, and let the rest do such service as they may; for if there be need of service, I think their chirurgery shall appear to some man's grief and pain."

Gale was in advance of his time because he had a clear perception of the unity of medicine. Until about 1850 the training of a surgeon was wholly distinct from that of a physician, and so far as might be the two branches were kept as separate as possible, the physician maintaining that the surgeon was merely his servant, whilst the surgeon strove as far as in him lay to emancipate himself and to do without the aid of the physician in the treatment of his cases. Yet Gale very wisely observes, "But for to counsel with the physician, being a grave and a learned man in the principles of this art—in matters of weight,—I take it to be very necessary; for what is he that is wise that will refuse the counsel of a wise and learned man, and specially of him that possesseth the principles of the same art? for physiologia, whereof the physician taketh his name, is the first and chiefest part, which he that worketh in the art of medicine doth prove, for that it doth consist in the knowledge of the seven natural things, and in the residue thereunto appertaining. But yet this doth not follow that a learned and expert chirurgion should not use diet and purgations and other inward medicines at all times when need doth require. For if you would so understand it, one part of their sayings should so repugn against another and so confound the whole, but their meaning was that the unlearned chirurgions, and those that be young men, which be not well practised, that they should take counsel as well as of the learned physician as of the learned chirurgion, for this art is so joined together that neither may the parts be divided, neither yet the

instruments, without the overthrow and destruction of the whole art."

And in another place he continues the same argument, saying, "Thus I do conclude that these three instruments—the use of the hand called *chirurgia*, convenient diet called *dieta*, and the ministering of convenient medicaments named *pharmacon* or medicine—are most necessary for those men that shall cure hurts, griefs, and diseases, and in no case may be separated or taken from them. For like as the carpenter and shipwright must of necessity use like instruments to finish and bring to pass their work withal, even so must the artists in this art, by what name soever you will call them, have and use convenient instruments to bring to pass the desired health, which is the end of this art. If the carpenter should say unto the shipwright, thou must not use the axe, the saw, the piercer, nor yet the hammer, for that they be proper instruments for my art; then the shipwright might answer him and say, they be proper for my art also, and without these instruments I cannot build my ship, nor bring to pass the desired end of my art. Even in the like manner it may be said in the art of medicine, for whether he be called by the name of a physician, or by the name of a chirurgion, or by the name of a leech, or by what other name you will call him, if ye will admit him to cure wounds, tumours against nature, ulcers, or what diseases soever they be, it is necessary that he have his proper instruments apt and meet to bring the same to pass withal. . . . The chirurgions ought not to be forbidden neither the ministering purgations, nor yet of diet, forasmuch as they be their chief and principal instruments, without which they cannot bring to pass their desired scope of health."

William Clowes the elder was even more distinguished than Gale as a leader amongst the great English surgeons in the reign of Elizabeth. He was born in 1540, a Warwickshire man, and was apprenticed to George Keble. In 1563 he was a surgeon in the army commanded by Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, and after the Havre expedition he served for several years in the navy, as was not unusual at a time when the two services were not separated, and the same leader was sometimes a general and sometimes an admiral. Clowes was admitted a member of the Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1569, and then settled in London. In 1575 he was elected a surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, becoming full surgeon in 1581, and he was also surgeon to Christ's Hospital—the Bluecoat School. He went to the Low Countries with the Earl of Leicester in May, 1585, and on his return to London he was admitted a member of the Court of Assistants of the United Company of Barber-Surgeons, becoming a Warden of the Company in 1594, though he was never Master. He served in the English fleet against the Spanish Armada, and was afterwards appointed surgeon to Queen Elizabeth. He died at Plaistow, in Essex, in 1604.

Clowes tells the same story as Gale about the multitude of quacks, but he expresses himself in somewhat stronger language when he says, "But now in these days it is the more lamentable to see how so famous an art, and the true professors of the same, are thus spurned, trodden down, embased and defaced, through the wicked behaviour and counterfeit glosses of the above-named rude rabble of obscure and unperfect experimenters, and such other prating, proud

peasants and ignorant asses. As proud as Icarus, as crafty as Prometheus, and as boasting as Golia, which garrison or beastly band do intermeddle too far into physic and chirurgery to the great slander and discredit of so noble a mystery, and to the reproach of the learned physician and chirurgion; and to the great danger, nay, to the utter undoing of a great number of poor afflicted creatures, whom they do most wickedly practise upon and cruelly torment. And, as it is truly said, they suck up like drone bees, with their brave polished colour of counterfeited cunning, filed phrases, and flattering speeches, the reward of other men's travails, which, with great study, charges, and pains, have bestowed all their time therein."

Master Clowes had quite a remarkable flow of language when he was properly roused by the enormities of the quacks who surrounded him on every side, and the following is a fair sample of his style:—"A great number be shameless in countenance, lewd in disposition, brutish in judgement and understanding, as was their unlearned leader and master, Thessalus, a vain practitioner, who, when his cunning failed, straightways sent his patients to Lybia for change of air. . . . This, their grand captain, was by profession a teaser of wool, and also the forerunner of this beastly brood following, which do forsake their honest trades whereunto God hath called them, and do daily rush into physic and chirurgery. And some of them be painters, some glaziers, some tailors, some weavers, some joiners, some cutlers, some cooks, some bakers, and some chandlers, etc. Yea, nowadays it is too apparent to see how tinkers, tooth-drawers, pedlars, ostlers, carters, porters, horse-gelders and horse-leeches, idiots, apple squires, broommen, bawds, witches, conjurers, sooth-sayers and sow-gelders, rogues, ratcatchers, runagates, and proctors of spittle-houses, with such other like rotten and stinking weeds which do in town and country without order, honesty, or skill, daily abuse both physic and chirurgery, having no more perseverance, reason, or honesty in this art than hath a goose, but a certain blind practice without wisdom or judgement, and most commonly useth one remedy for all diseases, and one way of curing to all persons, both old and young men, women, and children, which is as possible to be performed or to be true as for a shoemaker with one last to make a shoe to fit every man's foot; and this is one principal cause that so many perish."

Clowes' outspoken expressions of opinion did not always render him very acceptable to his contemporaries, and sometimes led him into trouble; thus it is recorded in the minutes of the Barber-Surgeons' Company that on "28th February, 1576, here was a complaint against William Clowes by one Goodinge, for that the said Clowes had not only misused the said Goodinge in speech, but also most of the Masters of the Company, with scoffing words and jests, and they all forgave him here openly in the Court, and so the strife was ended upon condition that he should never so misbehave himself again, and bonds were caused to be made to that effect." But, alas for the frailty of human nature! in the very next year, on March 25th, 1577, "here at this Court was a great contention and strife spoken of and ended between George Baker and William Clowes, for that they both, contrary to order and the good and wholesome rules of this house, misused each other, and fought in

the fields together. But the Master, Wardens, and Assistants wishing that they might be and continue loving brothers, pardoned this great offence in hope of amendment." Clowes at this time was Surgeon to Queen Elizabeth, and his opponent, one of the Earl of Oxford's men, was appointed Serjeant-Surgeon in 1591, and became Master of the Company in 1597. It is not surprising, I think, that people objected to Master Clowes' expressions, and endeavoured to misuse him, for he sums up his opinion of one of his fellows with the words he was "a great bugbear, a stinging gnat, a venomous wasp, and a counterfeit crocodile."

Very little is known of John Hall, except that he was born in 1529, lived at Maidstone in Kent, and was admitted a member of the Barber-Surgeons' Company late in life. He was the sturdiest representative of the best type of English country surgeon, and his mission in life was to abate quackery as far as in him lay by his writings, and to compel the authorities to do their duty. Here is an example of his method:—"Item in the year 1562, there came to the town of Maidstone an old fellow who took upon him to heal all diseases, as a profound physician whom (for because men had been so deluded by divers former deceivers) I caused to be examined before the officers of the said town. And when he was asked his name he said John Hewley; secondly, where he dwelt, he answered at London, in the Old Bayly, against Sir Roger Chomley. Thirdly, if he were a physician, he said yea. Fourthly, where he learned that art, and he said by his own study. Fifthly, where he studied it, he answered in his own house. Sixthly, what authors he had read, he said Eliot and others. Seventhly, we asked what other, and he said he had forgotten. Eighthly, we asked him what were the names of Eliot's books, he said he remembered not. Then we brought him an English book to read, which he refused; but when he was commanded to read he desired us to be good to him, for he was a poor man, and indeed could not read, and said that he intended not to tarry there, but to repair home again. This being done on a Sunday, after evensong, his host was bound for his forthcoming the next day, when upon his humble suit he was let go, being warned with exhortation to leave such false and naughty deceits. Farther in the same year, one William, a shoemaker, came into Kent, pretending to be very cunning in curing diseases of the eyes, and being brought to a friend of mine to have his judgement on one eye whereof the sight was weak. First putting them in much fear of the eye, he at length promised to do great things thereto. But the friends of the party diseased desired me first to talk with him to understand his cunning, which I at their request did at a time appointed, and asked him if he understood what was the cause of her infirmity. He said he could not tell, but he would heal it he doubted not. Then I asked him whether he were a surgeon or a physician, and answered no, he was a shoemaker, but he could heal all manner of sore eyes. I asked him where he learned that, he said that was no matter. Well, said I, seeing that you can heal sore eyes, what is an eye? Whereof is it made? Of what members or parts is it composed? and he said he knew not that.

"Then I asked him if he were worthy to be a shoemaker, or to be so called, that knew not how or whereof a shoe was made. He answered no, he was not worthy. Then, said I, how dare you work

upon such a precious and intricate member of man as is the eye, seeing you know not the nature thereof; and why, or by what reason, it doth see more than a man's nose or his hand doth? He answered that though he could not tell this, yet could he heal all manner of sore eyes. And that whereas Master Luke, of London, hath a great name of curing eyes, he could do that which Master Luke could not do, nor turn his hand to.

"Thus bragged this proud varlet against and above that reverend man of known learning and experience.

"And I said I thought so, for Master Luke, said I, is no shoemaker. Well, said he, I perceive you do but scorn me, and flung out of doors in a great fume, and could not be caused to tarry and drink by any entreaty, neither have I since that time heard anything of him."

As might be expected with such a dragon in the town as Master Hall, the quacks who came to Maidstone occasionally got into serious trouble. "One Robert Nicols, a false deceiver and most ignorant beast, and of the profession of vagabonds, hath in times past boasted himself to have been the servant of Master Vicary, late Serjeant-Surgeon to the Queen's Highness. But now the matter being put in trial, he saith he was apprentice with a priest, among whose wicked and prodigious doings (which are infinite) one very notable chanced in the year of our Lord 1564, the 26th September; he poured in a purgation to an honest woman of good fame, one Riches, widow, of Linton (a parish of three miles distant from Maidstone), which within three or four hours at the most purged the life out of her body, so violent was this mortal potion. The woman being before in perfect health to all men's judgements, being only of simplicity persuaded to take the same by the deceivable persuasions of this Nicols, who made fair weather of all things, and her to believe that he would deliver her of such diseases as indeed she had not. For he should have had by composition twenty shillings for the said drink.

"For this murderous fact he was by the Queen's Majesty's justices apprehended and imprisoned in the gaol of Maidstone, where he was communed withal concerning his knowledge and doings, and for what cause he gave her that purgation, and how she was persuaded to take it. He answered that he knew by her complexion that her liver and her lungs were rotten, and therefore he told her so. Whereunto one replied saying, nay, she was not sick, but thou toldest her so for thy filthy lucre, and she believed thee. And because (as thou saidest) thou knewest all this by her complexion, I pray thee what complexion am I of? He answered, 'You are sanguine.'

"Then was it asked him whether it were proper to a sanguine man to have black hair, as that party had on his beard. To this he answered, 'O, ye will say ye are more o' the choler.' Then the party gave him his hand to feel, which was commonly cold, saying, 'Is a cholerick man wont to be so cold?' which when he had felt he said, 'O, then ye would be of the phlegm.' Then was he asked, 'What is a sanguine man, or why is he called sanguine?' He answered, 'A sanguine man is he that hath a good digestion.' 'Marry, as thou sayest,' quoth the demander, 'herein hast thou showed how great thy cunning is in judging complexions.' Then

it was said to him, 'Ye profess both physic and chirurgery, what authors have you read?' He answered, 'Vigo and Gascoignc.'

"Then was it demanded, 'What medicine gavest thou the woman wherewith thou hadst so evil luck?' and he said '*catapussis*.' Then being rebuked for that he would take on him to give medicine inwardly whereof he knew not the names, much less the nature, he said as stoutly, as obstinately, 'that he knew as many purgations as the party that reproved him.' Then he asked him of four or five, such as came first to mind, as tamar indes, mirobalanes, agarick, etc., of all the which he said he knew none. Then he was required to name them that he did know, and he said he knew *catapussis* and *catapistela*.

"Then was he asked what *catapistela* was. 'Why,' quoth he to the demander, 'do not you know it?' 'No,' said the party, 'not by that name;' and it was further asked whether it were an herb, a root, a tree, a stone, the hoof, horn, or tail of a beast, or what it was. Nicols answered 'that it was none of these, but a thing made beyond the seas. It is not made in England,' quoth he; 'I think it be made in France.' Then was he again reproved for his beastly bragging. 'And here mayest thou see,' quoth the person that reasoned with him, 'thine own ignorance in that thou sayest it is made when it is indeed the fruit of a tree called *cassia fistula* (as I think thou meanest), and not *catapistela*.' And he answered, notwithstanding his former impudency, 'It is so;' saying also thus, 'O, you call it *casia* belike because it is like a case.'"

But Hall was more than a mere prosecutor of quacks, for he teaches that "all chirurgeons should be learned, and I would have no man think himself learned otherwise than by experience; for learning in chirurgery consisteth not in speculation only, nor in practice only, but in speculation well practised by experience. Therefore when we say that a chirurgeon must first be learned and then work, it is not meant that any man by the reading of a book or books only may learn how to work, for truly that hath caused so many deceiving abusers as there are at this day." He then enumerates the qualities to be desired in a surgeon. He must be "God-fearing and avoid envy and wicked wrath; his charity should surmount his covetousness; he must be no lechour, and above all he must beware of drunkenness, a vice that was never more used than it is of many at this time. For when hath this vile report (or rather reproach) gone of so many as it doth at this day, he is a good chirurgion in the forenoon? O, abomination of all other in a chirurgion to be detested! But how unmeet such are to be chirurgions!"

John Banester, born in 1540, began his professional career as a surgeon to the forces sent under the Earl of Warwick to relieve Havre in 1563, and he thus made the acquaintance of Clowes, who speaks of him as "Master Banester, my dear and loving friend." He was admitted a member of the Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1572, and appended to the minute recording his admission is a note that "Mr. Banester, of Nottingham, was sworn and admitted a brother of this mystery. Whereupon he hath granted to the house yearly twenty shillings so long as he liveth, and to be liberal and commodious to this house in what he may, and will send yearly a buck or two, and hath paid ten shillings, and shall have his letter of

licence." It seems, therefore, as though he were a person of some importance, and he probably belonged to the Nottinghamshire Banesters, who were an old county family. The University of Oxford granted him a licence to practise medicine on June 30th, 1573, and he thus acted both as a physician and as a surgeon, a very unusual combination at a time when the surgeons were still servants of the physician. In 1585 he served on board ship during the Earl of Leicester's expedition to the Low Countries, and on February 15th, 1594, in obedience to a letter from Queen Elizabeth, "given under our signet at our manor of Oatlands," he was licensed by the College of Physicians to practise physic "on condition that in every serious case, and when there is much danger, he shall call in some other member of the College to help him in the cure." He died in 1610, and was buried in the church of St. Olave's, Silver Street, London.

Banester's works are not very interesting, as they are concerned with the principles rather than the details of surgery, but like the other members of the band he had the true interests of the surgeons at heart, and tried to liberate them from bondage. Thus he says, "Some of late, more precise than wise, have fondly affirmed, foolishly feigned, and frantically faced that the chirurgian hath not to deal in physic. Small courtesy is it to break faithful friendship or at-one-ment, but it is mad dotage to part that which cannot be separated. How can physic be praised and chirurgery discommended? Can any man despise chirurgery and not defame physic? No, sure, he that speaketh evil of the one slandereth both; and he that robbeth the one spoileth the other. For though they be at this time made two distinct arts, and the artists severally named, yet sure the one cannot work without some aid from the other, nor the other practise without the aid of both. . . . Great ruth and pity is it that so many idle idiots and erroneous asses are permitted to practise this art of great difficulty."

The influence and personality of John Banester seem to have been of more importance to the cause than his writings, and I imagine him to have been one of the few surgeons who were gentlemen and highly cultivated.

John Read, like Clowes, Gale, and Hall, was instant that the practice of surgery should attain a higher level, and that it should be freed from the quackery which then formed so abundant a leaven in it. I think he died young, and only a few details of his life remain to us. He was living at Gloucester in 1587, and in 1588 he came to London, and was admitted a foreign brother of the Company of Barbers and Surgeons. On June 24th, 1588, he obtained a licence to marry Cicely, daughter of John Bancster. In the same year he published a volume of translations from medical writers, dedicating it to his father-in-law, John Banester, to William Clowes, and to William Pickering, whom he calls "my very good and loving friends."

Read deserves to be named with this noble band on account of the following remarkable sentences which he wrote in the preface to his book:—"Chirurgery is maimed and utterly unperfect without the help of those other parts, which consisteth in prescribing of inward medicines and convenient diet. And is so near linked with these in alliance that no man deserveth to be called a chirurgion that is

ignorant in physic; . . . and I do withal affirm that chirurgions ought to be seen in physic, and that the barbers' craft ought not to be termed chirurgery."

Read shows too that he was not altogether pleased with the manner in which the United Company treated the quacks, for he says further, "they practise abroad their accustomed deceits under the colour of admittance from the Hall of London and some other being in authority. . . . A thing greatly to be lamented that those who are or should be the fathers of art, and upholders of good artists, should so slightly pass their licence to such ignorant asses, to maintain them not only in cosening Her Majesty's subjects of their money, but oftentimes deprive them of their limbs, yea, and also of their lives. But it is no marvel, for money is sweet, and what is it but lucre may do? for I myself, talking with one of the same company and fellowship, complaining upon the abuses thereof in passing their licences to such, made me this answer. 'Indeed,' quoth he, 'it is not well, but we were as good take their money, for they would play the knaves nevertheless.' Surely his answer was truer than he wist, although a matter most lamentable. For whereas by the good and godly laws of the realm they are prohibited from practising or meddling in the art without licence, now forsooth for money they may buy them a cloak to cover them from the law."

The following conclusions may be drawn from the story I have told you this evening. First, that surgery was at a very low ebb during the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Many surgeons looked upon the art rather as a business to be followed than as a profession to be improved. In their collective and official capacity as the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the United Company of Barbers and Surgeons they had no objection to sell the licence to practise to anyone who chose to pay their price, without much inquiry as to the credit or fitness of the applicant. The surgeons, therefore, as a body were grossly ignorant: they held a low position socially, and unlicensed practitioners abounded. Fortunately, however, a series of surgeons came forward between the years 1560 and 1590 who tried to raise surgery into a profession by the suppression of quacks, by improved methods of teaching, and by the record of their personal experiences. Their colleagues, for the most part, were ignorant of Latin, and they wrote for them therefore in the terse English of the period, which makes their books so eminently readable at the present time, and has saved them from the oblivion to which the writings of their successors have been long since consigned. Many of their treatises give details of the individual cases which they had treated, the histories being recited less for their own glory or in any boasting spirit than to teach others and to emphasise their remarks on treatment.

The revival only lasted a few years, and it would have died away completely before the end of the sixteenth century if it had not been for John Woodall in England, and Maister Peter Lowe in Glasgow. I cannot explain the sudden decline, except that the revival depended upon the activity of a very few great minds. Read, as I have said, seems to have died young, for he is never heard of again after the publication of his book in 1588. Hall and Gale died without leaving any children in the profession. Banester's

children perhaps became country gentlemen in Nottinghamshire, and his relation, Richard Banester the oculist, though he wrote a book on the diseases of the eye, showed no reforming spirit. Clowes the younger rose indeed to eminence, and was appointed Serjeant-Surgeon on the accession of Charles I, but he does not seem to have written anything, nor is there evidence that he showed any originality. In England the Elizabethan tradition was carried on solely by John Woodall, the naval surgeon, who died in 1643, when his mantle fell upon Richard Wiseman, the great surgeon of the Commonwealth. Woodall says, in the preface to one of his works, "For this forty years last past no surgeon of my nation hath published any book of the true practice of surgery to benefit the younger sort, these my mean treatises only excepted,"—a statement which is literally correct for England, though in Scotland Maister Peter Lowe was doing such good work that I cannot pass over him without a few words, especially as he was a man after Clowes' own heart.

Lowe was born in Scotland about 1550, and after an adventurous career of thirty years he returned to his native country in the early part of 1598, calling himself "Chirurgion-Major to the Spanish Regiments at Paris, Doctor in the Faculty of Chirurgie in Paris, and Chirurgion Ordinarie to the Most Victorious and Christian King of France and Navarre." He served therefore during the memorable historical periods of the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the revolt of the Netherlands, and it is evident from his works that he saw much service. The first edition of his *Discourse of the Whole Art of Chirurgie* is dated "from London, 20th April, 1597," and is introduced to the friendly reader by a long preface from the pen of William Clowes. Lowe passed from London to Glasgow, where in 1599 he was granted the "privilege under His Highness' privy seal to try and examine all men upon the art of chirurgery, to discharge and allow in the west parts of Scotland, who were worthy or unworthy to profess the same." Peter Lowe was therefore the founder of the present Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. He died on the 15th August, 1610.

The following extracts will show that Lowe followed the lines laid down by the London surgeons, not from any desire to imitate, but because they alone led to the desired emancipation of surgery. Speaking of quacks he says, "Some run from one town to another, promising to heal all things by vomitories and laxates, chiefly with antimony præcipitatum, which is powder of quicksilver; laureola, elebour, coloeynth, æsula, catapus, and divers other poisonable medicaments, full of venom uncorrected, without either weight or measure. Those are the death of infinite numbers, who for the most part end their days by cruel vomiting, with insatiable going to the stool, with syncope, and intolerable dolour of the stomach and intestines. Of these some die the first or second day; the most robust the seventh or eighth day at the farthest. Another sort of those deceivers allege to have their knowledge by reading some other vulgar books. Those fellows promise rare things, and are garnished with some words that are obscure and not common, nor well can be understood to themselves or by their audience. But to make it the more plausible, they ever thrust in those obscure words in any purpose, and to make the matter to have more faith they

interlace Scripture with sighs and sobs, and divers other circumstances. The third takes upon him to heal all things by charms and praying to saints of the like name that the sickness is of, alleging the sickness to be some saint's evil; as, for example, such as become paralytic through a deflux of humours on the nerves, they term it to be a blast of evil wind, and by praying to St. Blaot it shall heal; such as are hydropick do pray to St. Hidrop; such as lose their sight pray to St. Cleere; those who hear evil or have disease in their ears pray to St. Owyn; such as have the gout, called chiragra, or any other disease in the hands, pray to St. Main; with divers others which were long to repeat. Those deceitful, ignorant people consider not that all those diseases were long before any of those saints. The fourth sort allege to have the curation of all diseases from their parents as heritage, and those be impudent deceivers. The fifth sort vaunts to be skilful in such like diseases by experience upon themselves, alleging them to be most skilful in the cure of the French poxe because he was cured himself sundry times of the same disease. The sixth takes upon him to cure all things by poisonable vomitories only, chiefly antimony. . . . The seventh sort of these ignorants, having some ulcers in their legs or arms a certain space, takes upon him to heal all sores, alleging by some revelation to have an unguent called unguentum ad omnes plagas. This fellow with the rest doth cure all their abuses and mischiefs with a truce or stone. The eighth sort, who, having almost drunken out one of his eyes, and useth some few remedies for the same, professeth himself to be a fine Eynest. The ninth sort, who hath been cut of the stone or rupture, or seen beasts cut, takes upon him to be most excellent in the rupture or stone. All those with divers others take on them to have done many cures, yet they forget the infinite number murdered by them. Such mischiefs were never suffered among the infidels, much less should be amongst Christians, to the great dishonour of God and His laws."

There is much instructive and curious reading in Maister Peter Lowe's *Whole Art of Chirurgery*. He had the gift of humour, and had scen much of life. He seems to have been free from much of the superstition of his time, for in his chapter on the "Rules to be observed in Bleeding" he pays no attention to the fortunate or unfortunate days in the only edition of his book published during his lifetime. The later editions issued after his death contain the following curious information:—"The excellent and learned mathematicians do say that there are three certain days that should be observed by chirurgions not to let blood, to wit, the 1st of August, the 4th of September, the 11th of March, as likewise the 10th of August, the 1st of December, and 6th of April are observed by some philosophers to be very perilous to surfeit much in eating and drinking, for in them men may incur dangerous sicknesses and often death. I read in an old philosopher Arabian, a man of divers rare observations, who did remark three Mondays in the year to be most unfortunate, either to let blood or begin any notable work, viz. the first Monday of April, the which day Cain was born and his brother Abel slain. The second is the first Monday of August, the which day Sodom and Gomorrah were confounded. The third is the last Monday of December, the which day Judas Iscariot was born, who betrayed our Saviour Jesus Christ to the Jews. These three Mondays, with the

Innocents' Day, by divers of the learned men are reputed to be the most unfortunate of all days, and ought to be eschewed by all men for the great mishaps which often do happen in them, and thus much concerning the opinion of our ancient of days. So in like manner I will repeat unto you certain days which be observed by some old writers, chiefly the curious astrologians, who did allege that there were twenty-eight days in the year which were revealed by the angel to good Joseph, which ever have been remarked to be very fortunate days, either to purge, let blood, cure wounds, use merchandise, sow seed, plant trees, build houses, or taking journeys in long or short voyages, in fighting or giving of battle or skirmishing. They do also allege that children who were born in any of those days could never be poor, and all children who were put to the schools or colleges in those days should become great scholars, and those who were put to any craft or trade in those days without doubt should become a perfect artificer and rich, and such as were put to trade of merchandise should become most wealthy merchants. The days be these: the 3rd and 13th of January; the 5th and 28th of February; the 3rd, 22nd, and 30th of March; the 5th, 22nd, and 29th April; the 4th and 28th May; the 3rd and 8th June; the 12th, 13th, and 15th of July; the 12th August; the 1st, 7th, 24th, and 28th of September; the 4th and 15th October; the 13th and 19th of November; the 23rd and 26th of December."

I cannot leave these Elizabethan surgeons without calling your attention for a few moments to the literary graces which are so often found in their writings, graces which make their books pleasanter to read than those now written. Gale's *Institution of a Chirurgeon*, dated May 20th, 1563, opens with the following sentences which show his love of nature:—"Phœbus who chaseth away the dark and uncomfortable night, casting his golden beams on my face would not suffer me to take any longer sleep, but said, 'Awake for shame, and behold the handiwork of our sister Flora, how she hath revested the earth with the most beautiful colours, marvellously set in trees, plants, herbs, and flowers; insomuch that the old and withered coat of winter is quite done away and put out of remembrance,' at which words of Phœbus my heart quickened within me, and all desire of sleep was eftsoons forgotten. Wherefore I am now come into this beautiful meadow to recreate myself, and gather some of these pleasant herbs and flowers which here do grow." A strange beginning, but a pleasing one to a text-book of surgery.

Gale's second book—a translation of Galen's *Methodus Medendi*—is dedicated to Sir Henry Nevill, and has the following Envoy prefixed:

"Go forth, my painful book,
Thou art no longer mine;
Each man on thee may look,
The shame or praise is thine."

"Thou mightst with me remain,
And so eschew all blame,
But since thou wouldst so fain,
Go forth in God's name."

" And seek thou for no praise,
Nor thank, nor yet reward ;
Nor each man for to please
Have thou no great regard.

" For as to pleasure many
I have been ever glad,
Right so to displease any
I would be loath and sad.

" The labour hath been mine,
The travail and the pain ;
Reproaches shall be thine,
To bear we must be fain.

" But if thou please the best
And such as be of skill,
I pass not for the rest.
Good men, accept good-will."

The sentiments perhaps are superior to the versification, but I do not know any surgeon of the present day who dare commend his book in verse.

John Hall's prefatory lines are better, and have a curious ring of Tennyson's *In Memoriam* about them, though they are only an acrostic, for the first letters spell John Hall. They run—

" If reason may the justice be,
Of this my mind the truth to try :
How can there be despair in me ?
No truth sith reason can deny.

" Happy it is when men esteem
All one in truth, the same to tell :
Let no man void of reason deem,
Lest he against the truth rebel."

But Hall had other claims to be called a poet. He translated into English metre certain chapters taken out of the Proverbs of Solomon, with other chapters of the Holy Scripture and certain psalms of David. They were published in 1550, and in 1565 he issued *The Court of Virtue*, containing many holy or spiritual songs, sonnets, psalms, ballets, and short sentences, as well of Holy Scripture as others, with music.

[*Read at Toynbee Hall at a meeting of the Elizabethan Literary Society.*]